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## From Herat to Shiraz: the Unique Manuscript (876/1471) of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's Poetry from Aq Qoyunlu Circle

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### Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/asiecentrale/2791>

ISSN: 2075-5325

### Publisher

Éditions De Boccard

### Printed version

Date of publication: 10 March 2015

Number of pages: 47-79

ISBN: 978-2-84743-112-4

ISSN: 1270-9247

### Electronic reference

Aftandil Erkinov, « From Herat to Shiraz: the Unique Manuscript (876/1471) of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's Poetry from Aq Qoyunlu Circle », *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* [Online], 24 | 2015, Online since 10 March 2016, connection on 19 April 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/asiecentrale/2791>

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**From Herat to Shiraz:  
the Unique Manuscript (876/1471)  
of ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī’s Poetry from  
Aq Qoyunlu Circle**

Aftandil ERKINOV\*

‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī, *Farhād u Shīrīn* (1483)<sup>1</sup>

<i>No Matter how many there are one – a hundred, a thousand</i>	اگر بیر قوم کریوز یوقسه مینک دور
<i>All the Turkic languages belong to me.</i>	معین ترک اولوسی خود منینک دور
<i>Without warriors nor battles I conquered every country,</i>	الیب مین تخت فرمانیم غه آسان
<i>From China to Khorasan.</i>	چیریک چیکمای ختا دین تا خراسان
<i>Sugar from the cane of my quill,</i>	خراسان دما کیم شیراز وتبریز
<i>Was strewn not only on Khorasan, but also on Shiraz and</i>	که قلمیش دور نی کلکیم شکرریز
<i>[Tabriz]</i>	

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<sup>1</sup> Nawā’ī, 1991, p. 475; Erkinov, 1971, p. 247; Qayumov, 1979; Komilov, 2009, pp. 182-192. Translation here and further on in the author’s text.

## Introduction<sup>2</sup>

You could interpret the foregoing six lines from ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī (1441-1501) as follows:<sup>3</sup> Nawā’ī proudly assert that his works prevail amongst the Turkic peoples from China to Khorasan (where Timurid Ḥusayn Bāyqarā ruled the centre in Herat). His poems are in fact well known not only in Khorasan, but also in Shiraz and Tabriz, namely amongst the Turkic population of these centres. References to Shiraz and Tabriz to this day have not had a specific context to them and have served as abstract information on the poet’s works that prevailed in these territories, and in a broader sense in the Turkic environment of Central Asia and modern-day Iran. These lines could have been summed up as *fakhrīya*,<sup>4</sup> one of the traditional poetic techniques of oriental Islam. What recently caught my eye, however, was the structure of one manuscript with Nawā’ī’s poetry that is renowned amongst experts in the arts, but not renowned amongst Uzbek literature experts. This manuscript is kept at the National Library of Egypt. With the discovery of this collection of poetry, or *dīwān*, these Nawā’ī poems became not only an example of the use of the *fakhrīya* poetic technique, but also gained a specific and real meaning.

It is widely known that Herat prospered in the era of the late Timurids (1370-1506) during Ḥusayn Bāyqarā’s rule (1469-1506), when greet Turkic classic poet ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī lived and wrote his poetry (Szuppe, 1993; Subtelny, 2007). The Aq Qoyunlu dynasty (1378-1508), neighbouring the Timurids, also paid a lot of attention to developing art. Having ruled partial in modern-day Eastern Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, northern Iran, and Iraq,

<sup>2</sup> I wrote this article in 2014 while working on the project “Early Modern Islamic States and the Surrounding World” (coordinated by Prof. Nobuaki Kondo) as a visiting professor at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan). I am grateful to the Institute’s administration and to Prof. Nobuaki Kondo for their help in making this article possible and I would like to thank for their advice: Francis Richard, Maria Szuppe, Mutsumi Sugahara, Esra Akin-Kivanc, Kasimjan Sadikov, Abdulatif Turdialiev, Kadirjan Ergashev, Alim Davlatov and Hamidulla Aminov. The main lines of this article was presented at the 5<sup>e</sup> *Journée d’études et atelier de travail (Workshop) Series Catalogorum* organised by the UMR7528 Mondes iranien et indien on October 17, 2014, Paris, France.

<sup>3</sup> The poet’s name in Russian texts is traditionally written as Alisher Navoi, but we prefer the spelling ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī, which is closer to the oriental transcription. This concerns several other oriental terms in the article as well.

<sup>4</sup> The poet’s fulfillment with his prosody. *Fakhrīya/iftikhār* (Arabic for self-aggrandizement, pride, glory, honour, superiority, magnificence, etc.) is a poetic technique, a poet’s self-aggrandizement, self-panegyric.

the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty kept close ties with the Timurids. This dynasty, which came from the environment of the Oghuz Turks, ruled from 1378 to 1501 on the territory of modern-day Eastern Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Northern Iran, and Iraq (Minorsky, 1960; Woods, 1999). Nawā'ī's collection of poems (*dīwān*), which was copied on 12 Radjab 876/24 December 1471 in Shiraz – one of the central city of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, was one of the unique manuscripts (Nawā'ī, 1471<sup>5</sup>) during this period, the ruler in Shiraz was Khalīl (lived in 1442-1478) (Khunjī, 1957, pp. 25-40). He was the Aq Qoyunlu ruler in 1478 for only six months and lived in Tabriz, the capital of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty. Subsequently, Sulṭān Khalīl was attacked and killed by his brother Ya'qūb (b. 1463, 1478-1490), who replaced him on the throne (Khunjī, 1957; Woods 1999, pp. 125-147).

I conditionally called the indicated Nawā'ī's *dīwān* "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers". Admirers of Nawā'ī's poetry from the Aq Qoyunlu environment, before 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī himself began to compile his first *dīwān*, organised this collection of poems. Nawā'ī's *Ilk dīwān* [Initial *dīwān*], copied in 870/1465-66 is still the only one of Nawā'ī's collection of poetry that science is aware of.<sup>6</sup> The *Ilk dīwān* was the first collection of Nawā'ī's poetry that his devotees compiled and that Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī (1432-1520) copied in Herat (Nawā'ī, 1968; Sulaymonov, Sulaymonova, 1982, illustrations 1-13; Isoqov, 1965; Eckmann, 1970). "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" is the second collection of Nawā'ī's poetry that his adherents compiled, namely the collection was compiled in the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, next to the Timurids, presumably in Shiraz, and not in Herat. We are aware of only one manuscript of this *dīwān*, and it is the only collection we know that devotees of Nawā'ī's poetry compiled in the Aq Qoyunlu state. 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī, known as Anīsī, was the person to have copied this *dīwān*. Although art experts were aware of this manuscript, Uzbek literature experts were unaware of it, and this manuscript was not the object of research in terms of the collection's structure and passing on the text of poems that, for example, was adapted to the Oghuz Turkic that prevailed in the Aq Qoyunlu state. We will try in this article to research

<sup>5</sup> For more information on this manuscript, read Erkinov, 2012. My gratitude to Dr. Simon Rettig, who directed me to the manuscript of this *dīwān* (Rettig, 2011, Vol. ii, p. 243).

<sup>6</sup> 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, Initial *dīwān* / *Ilk Dīwān* / *Rannij divan* (Nawā'ī, 1968).

the *dīwān*'s composition and the social-cultural context that served as the foundation for copying this manuscript in Nawā'ī's adolescent years.

### The Life and Works of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī

Nizām al-Dīn Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (1441-1501) was a poet and statesman in the Ḥusayn Bāyqarā court (1469-1506) in Herat. Nawā'ī wrote poems under the pseudonym (*takhallūṣ*) Nawā'ī (in works written in Chagatay Turkic) and Fānī (in works written in Persian), and is one of the most influential figures in Turkic literature. He wrote more than thirty works, most of them in Turkic. Nawā'ī was born in Herat and spent most of his life in this city. His family was close to the Timurids: as a child, Nawā'ī himself was both friend and studied with Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506), the future ruler of Khorasan, and then began to write poetry at ten to twelve years of age. According to Nawā'ī's contemporarian, the historian Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (1475-1536), the renowned Turkic poet Luṭfī (1367-1463) at an elderly age would meet with the child Nawā'ī and praise his poetic talent (Birnbaum, 1986).

Nawā'ī was forced to live far away from Herat (Marv, Taft, Mashhad, Samarkand) during the period of the Timurids' internal warfare, only occasionally returning, until 1469 when Timurid Ḥusayn Bāyqarā would seize Herat and become the ruler of Khorasan. Nawā'ī would live mainly in this city from the beginning of this period until his death (Subtelny, 1993, p. 90). In the 1480s, Nawā'ī would pay to have several *madrassa*, *rabāṭ* [a stop for travellers], *masjid*, *khānakāh* [Sufi refuges], bathhouses, and bridges in Herat and other regions of the country. He would be more involved in art beginning in 1476, and most of his works would be written starting this very year and until his death.

Nawā'ī wrote the most important lyrical, lyrical and epical, social and philosophical, and scientific works from 1480 to 1501; the sheer volume of works he wrote is enormous as well. Six of his poems make up 60,000 lines (*miṣrā'*). From 1483 to 1485, he wrote *Khamsa* [Pentalogy], consisting of the following five poems: *Ḥayrat al-abrār* [Turmoil of the Righteous], *Farhād u Shīrīn* [Farhad and Shirin], *Layli-wu Majnūn* [Layli and Majnun], *Sab'a-yi sayyār* [Seven Planets], *Sadd-i iskandarī* [The Alexandrian Wall]. They were written based on the tradition of the *khamsanawīsī* [writing and creation of the *Khamsa*]. Nawā'ī's *Khamsa* is the first work in this genre

written in Turkic (Erkinov, 1999). Moreover, Nawā'ī wrote one more poem called *Lisān al-ṭayr* [Language of the Birds].

Nawā'ī wrote an impressive number of lyrical works during his life. He compiled a collection of all his poems in Turkic from 1492 to 1498 and created four *dīwān* collections called *Khazā'in al-ma'ānī* [A Treasure Trove of Thoughts] (Haytmetov, 1961). This consists of the following four *dīwān*: (1) *Gharā'ib al-ṣighar* [Miracles of Childhood], (2) *Nawādir al-shabāb* [Rarities of Youth], (3) *Badā'ī' al-wasaf* [Wonders of Middle Age], (4) *Fawā'id al-kibar* [Helpful Old-Age Advice]. The total volume of all the poems from these four collections makes up more than 50,000 lines (*misra'*). Furthermore, Nawā'ī wrote poems in seventeen genres out of the existing twenty-one in the poetry of the Islamic Orient. Nawā'ī collected all his poems written in Persian under the title *Dīwān-i Fānī* [*Dīwān* of Fanī]. He wanted to compete with Persian poets as well.

### Manuscripts of Nawā'ī's Works

Not only the writing, but also the popularity of the manuscripts in the Islamic Orient made a big difference in exchanging various information and developing culture (Szuppe, 2004). Manuscripts with Nawā'ī's works prevailed widely in the Turkic world. You could find them in dozens and sometimes hundreds of copies at manuscript holdings of the Islamic Orient. The brochure was published with information about copyists, who have copied the works of Nawā'ī (Hakimov, 1991). We currently have many manuscripts of *Khamisa* or individual poems from it. The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan named after Biruni in Tashkent have 166 manuscripts of Nawā'ī's *Khamisa* that were copied in the fifteenth-twentieth centuries. The study of the popularity and the quantity of Nawā'ī's *Khamisa* manuscripts demonstrate that these works had a special place in the intellectual life and cultural environment of Central Asia (Erkinov, 1998b; Erkinov, 1998c; Erkinov, 1998a). Some years ago was published the catalogue of the manuscripts of this *Khamisa* (Munirov, Hakimov, 1986).

In addition to the *Khamisa* manuscripts, a similar picture is observed in hundreds of manuscripts with Nawā'ī's works that were copied over more than 500 years, from the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, the fund of Institute of Manuscripts of the

Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan had 254 manuscripts with twenty of Nawā'ī's works (Hakimov, 1983). Moreover, from 1879 to 1917, Nawā'ī's works were printed seventy times in Central Asian lithographies (Qosimxonov, 1988). These figures are the highest for a poet from the Turkic literary environment. It is worth keeping in mind that the numbers given above manifest the quantity of Nawā'ī's manuscripts on Central Asia alone. His manuscripts from Turkish holdings at one point were specially described (Levend, 1958). The popularity of Nawā'ī's works and their manuscripts in the Caucasus was specially studied (Nagieva, 1986; Nagieva, 1990). The publication of Nawā'ī's texts and both the description and histiographic analysis of the texts of his works continue to this day (Shamsiev, 1961; Sirojiddinov, 2011; Yusupova, 2013). In this perspective, manuscripts with Nawā'ī's poetry were given special attention (Rieu, 1888, p. 295; Ethe, 1930, pp. 1195-1196; Volin, 1946; Sulaymanov, 1955-1961; Goeseke, 1961; Nawā'ī, 1964, pp. 3-41; G'anieva, 1991; Adahl, 2000; Erkinov, 2008a; Richard, 2013).

### About "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" Manuscript

The first details regarding the manuscript of this *dīwān* are found in the illustrative catalogue of manuscripts at the Cairo library that was published in 1935 and gives the following description (Stchoukine, 1935, p. 151, fig. 8): the manuscript of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's (Lit. Turc. 68) is sixty-seven pages long. The text was copied in *nasta'liq* style in two columns. The size of the manuscript is 200x130 mm, and the size of the text is 140x75 mm. The date of copy is 876/1471-1472 (Nawā'ī, 1471). The copyist is 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khwārazmī.<sup>7</sup> The manuscript has two miniatures. The scribe's name in the description is denoted correctly and corresponds to what is written on the colophon composed in Arabic. Only the year copied is provided, although the day and month the work was completed were noted on the colophon. Apparently, Ivan Stchoukine, who had described the manuscript, did not catch this.

The manuscript colophon (67a) provides the following details in Arabic (see annex n° 1):

<sup>7</sup> See hereafter about this scribe.

The All-Bestowing Lord (Allah) contributed to copying this book. The poor slave 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Khwārazmī, needing the mercy of the self-sufficient Allah, copied it (may Allah cloak his flaws, improve his standing, and forgive his sins on the 12<sup>th</sup> [day] of the holy [month] of *rajab*, 876, according to the [chronology] *hijra*).

تمت الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب كتبه  
العبد الفقير المحتاج الى رحمة الله الغنى  
عبد الرحيم بن عبد الرحمن الخوارزمي  
ستر الله عيوبه واحسن احواله و غفر  
ذنوبه في ثانی عشر رجب المرجب سنه  
ست و سبعين و ثمانی الهجريه

The manuscript has two miniatures written in the Aq Qoyunlu school style (see annexes n° 2 and 3). The manuscript provides a total of 229 poems by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī that fall under the following genres:

n°	Genre	Quantity	Pages
1	<i>Ghazal</i>	224	1b-62b
2	<i>Mustazād</i>	1	62b-63a
3	<i>Mukhammas</i>	3	63a-65a
4	<i>Tarji 'band</i>	1	65a-67a

The fact that the language of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's poems is adapted to the Oghuz Turkic, most likely to draw them closer to the audience that speaks this dialect (which the poems provided below as an example show) is one of the particularities of the manuscript. We were not able to find any details related to this manuscript in works on the popularity amongst Oghuz Turks of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's compositions or in manuscripts that include his poems (Birnbäum, 1976; Kleinmichel, 2006; Küt, 1989; Nagieva, 2001; Çetindağ, 2006). This manuscript is for the moment the only copy of a *dīwān* to have come out of the Aq Qoyunlu environment that Nawā'ī researchers are aware of.

Priscilla Soucek, a miniature specialist, writes the following about the manuscript of this *dīwān*: 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī rewrote the Nawā'ī *dīwān*. It could be that he copied it for Khalīl, the son of the Aq Qoyunlu Sultān Uzūn Ḥasan (1453-1478),<sup>8</sup> who was appointed by the alderman in Shiraz in 1471-1478 or for another certain seigneur, since the artist presumably to have decorated the manuscript in miniatures, Darwīsh Muḥammad also lived and worked under the Khalīl court (Soucek, 1985b).

<sup>8</sup> See about him: Minorsky, 1965.



Therefore, Nawā'ī's Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān* was copied in Shiraz; however, art historian Priscilla Soucek, believing the manuscript to be one of the copies of Nawā'ī's *dīwān*, did not pay attention to its content. Apparently, she was not familiar with the manuscript and indicates the time it was copied as 876/1471-1472. Since only several art historians, interested only in miniatures and not in the poems and the date the manuscript was copied, were aware of the manuscript, its meaning for Nawā'ī specialists was left unrevealed (Robinson, 1958, p. 79).

Beginning of the manuscript (1b) (see annex n° 4):

ای صفحه رخسارینک ازل خطیدن انشا  
دیباچه حسننکه ابد نقطه سی طغرا

End (67 a):

یادینک نی قیلای حریف مجلس  
فکرینک نی ایتای کونولکا مونس

### Copyist of the manuscript

The manuscript was copied at the end of 1471 by calligrapher and poet Nizām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khwārazmī, who wrote poems under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) Anīsī.<sup>9</sup> He is a representative of the Khwārazmī family, which wrote poetry during the era of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty's rule. Three renowned calligraphers came from this family.

'Abd al-Raḥmān Khwārazmī – father of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī. He was a deft calligrapher of his time. Details show that the manuscripts he copied and his work date back to 1436-1462 (Bayānī, 1363/1985, p. 378-380; Soucek, 1985c.)

'Abd al-Karīm Khwārazmī – younger brother of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī. Medieval sources on the history of calligraphical art note that he also was a renowned calligrapher during his time and wrote poems under the pseudonym *Padshāh* [ruler] (Sām Mīrzā Ṣafawī, 1384/2005, p. 28; Qādī Aḥmad, 1959, p. 101; Bayānī, 1363[1985], pp. 409-411, 1107; Soucek, 1985a.). His calligraphy copied his older brother (Mustaqīm-zāde, f. 19b.)

<sup>9</sup> For more information on this calligrapher: Dost-Muḥammad, 1936, p. 16; Çağman, 1972-73, p. 603; Stchoukine, 1966, pp. 3-4; Soucek, 1985b; Woods, 1999, p. 138; Gholami, Suheyl, 2008.

'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī is Anīsī himself. He was a pupil of renowned calligrapher Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Aḥḥar Tabrīzī and perfected his calligraphic style (Muṣṭafa 'Ālī, 1369/1990; Mīrzā Sanglākh Khurāsānī, 1388 [2009], pp. 175-182. Stchoukine, 1977, p. 78; Mālik Daylamī, 1989, p. 352; Rettig, 2011, Vol. I, pp. 147-155). He completed copying one manuscript that Aḥḥar started (Lentz, Lowry, 1989, p. 245; Thackston, 2001, p. 50; Blair, 2006, pp. 283-284). Two adroit scribes copying one manuscript is a rather rare phenomenon in the history of calligraphical art. This requires a lot of expertise from the calligrapher continuing the copying, since this calligrapher must preserve his colleague's style. Anīsī was a skilled calligrapher that was able to accomplish this demanding challenge (Anushta, 1380/2001, p. 144). He copied manuscripts from works such as *Bustān* of Sa'dī, the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiz, *Khamṣa* of Nīzāmī Ganjawī, and his own collection of poems called *Dīwān-i Anīsī* (Bayānī, 1363/1985, pp. 386-387; Soudavar, 1992, pp. 136-137; Thackston, 2001, p. 50; Rettig, 2011, Vol. II, pp. 123, 242, 247).

The Khwārazmī brothers were renowned calligraphers of their time (Huart, 1972, pp. 257-258; Aminov, 2010, pp. 7, 64). The Khwārazmī family served under the court of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Sulṭān Ya'qūb (Kostygova, 1963, p. 11; Uluç, 2006a, pp. 25-28; Uluç, 2006b, pp. 25-28; Seki, 2009, pp. 1, 11, 86). Anīsī was friend with him. Sources provide details about their work (Mustaqīm-zāde, f. 17a; Mustaqīm-zāde Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi, 1928, pp. 653, 673). What is interesting is that some of these sources say that the Khwārazmī family (father and sons) competed in calligraphical art with the famous Herat calligrapher Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī and developed its own *nasta'liq* style against him. This style is called style of Anīsī (*uslūb-i Anīsī, shīwa-yi Anīsī*) (Mustaqīm-zāde, f. 17a; Mustaqīm-zāde Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi, 1928, p. 673; Mustafa Ālī, 2011, p. 253). Although 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khwārazmī was the inventor of this style of writing, his son ('Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī) also made some novelties (Habīb Iṣfahānī, 1887, p. 232; Huart, 1972, p. 258; Murodov, 1971, p. 104). Shiraz calligraphers imitate them in their work (Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad, 1989, p. 354).

'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, in his work *Majālis al-nafā'is* [Assembly of the Elegant] in the second *majlis*, provides details on the poet Mawlānā Anīsī (Nawā'ī, 1997, p. 54). We know that the scribe of the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān* also wrote poetry; however, is the Anīsī that Nawā'ī mentioned also and the

Anīsī *dīwān* scribe the same person or are they different people? We still cannot say. It is most likely that Anīsī is not ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī. Ḥakīm-shāh Muḥammad Qazwīnī (died in 1559) translated the indicated Nawā’ī works *Majālis al-nafā’is* into Persian (1522). While translating it, he added new details about poets, in particular from the Aq Qoyunlu environment. Amongst them, he gives brief details about Anīsī as a calligrapher and poet (Mīr Nizām al-Dīn ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī, 1363/1984, p. 301).

Sām Mīrzā Safawī (1517-1576), in his *tadhkira* of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī, presents him as a poet to have written poems under the pseudonym Anīsī and notes the following: “Mawlānā Anīsī is from Khwarezm. He served the Sultān Ya‘qūb. He wrote in the *nasta‘liq* style with great skill. The people considered him equal in this to Sultān ‘Alī Mashhadī” (Sām Mīrzā Şafawī, 1384/2005, p. 28). Anīsī served in the Aq Qoyunlu court between 1460 and 1494, namely for more than thirty years, and copied several manuscripts (Soucek, 1985b; Sakisian, 1929, p. 35; Stchoukine, 1966; Stchoukine, 1977, p. 71; Bayānī, 1363/1985, pp. 384-388). According to Qāḍī Aḥmad, who wrote a tract dedicated to calligraphers and artists, Anīsī took this pseudonym, because Aq Qoyunlu ruler Sultān Ya‘qūb (who had drawn him closer to himself) called him *anīs*, namely friend. Qāḍī Aḥmad also notes that many Shiraz poets were the pupils of Anīsī and wrote poems by imitating him (Kazi Ahmed, 1947, p. 87; Qāḍī Aḥmad, 1959, pp. 100-101). Therefore, Anīsī was an extraordinary poet. He compiled a *dīwān* from his Persian poems and copied it in 899/1493-94; this signature *dīwān* has now been conveyed to us (Bayānī, 1363 [1985], p. 386; Alparslan, 1988). At the same time, we do not know whether he is the compiler of the Aq Qoyunlus *dīwān* or only the scribe of the Nawā’ī manuscript.

It should be noted that having Oghuz elements in the language of poems included in the *dīwān* does not have to do with the scribe being from Khwarezm. Rather, this is explained by the need to draw them closer to the audience of the readers’ region. The conclusion can be made from this that in 1471 Nawā’ī, who had just turned thirty, was a renowned and respected poet amongst Oghuz Turks, which is proven by the compilation of a *dīwān* of his select poems. At this time, Nawā’ī had already become famous in his homeland as a poet and started to become involved in politics in the Ḥusayn Bāyqarā court. All the information that we have collected in this regard gives an idea of Anīsī’s life. Unfortunately, they do not provide enough

information to understand the problems at the foundations of copying the Nawā'ī *dīwān*.

### Nawā'ī and Shiraz, Tabriz

To specify the context that Nawā'ī's *dīwān* occurred in, we have to briefly mention the history of the Timurids' relations with Shiraz, the city in question. As is known, the city of Tabriz was the capital of Aq Qoyunlu, while Shiraz was famous as the cultural centre, in particular for bookmaking. The first Timurid governor of Shiraz was Timur's grandson, Iskandar Sultān b. 'Umar Shaykh (1409-1415). He was succeeded by another grandson, Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh (1415-1435), who was succeeded by his son 'Abdallah (1435-1452). After the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh b. Timur died in 1447, contending Timurid princes started quarrelling over the succession among themselves. Weakened by strife, they were unable to protect all their territory, and western Iran was conquered first by the Qara Qoyunlu (1375-1468) and then by the Aq Qoyunlu armies.

Shiraz was occupied in 1452 and remained under Qara Qoyunlu (1375-1468) control until 1469. During these years, the Qara Qoyunlu prince Pīr Budāq ibn Jahān-shāh became the governor of Shiraz (1453-1460) and soon proved to be a patron of the arts. Pīr Budāq remained in Shiraz until 1458 when he joined his father Muẓaffar al-Dīn Jahān-shāh (1436-1467) to invade Khorasan. The Qara Qoyunlu army briefly occupied Herat and possibly took some artists with them back to western Iran. Pīr Budāq then returned to Shiraz, but soon began to fight with his father, which resulted in his transfer to Baghdad in 1460. He ruled there for a further six years until 1466, when his attempt at independent rule caused his downfall and he was assassinated (Soucek, 1979, p. 26; Uluç, 2006a, p. 13; Uluç, 2006b, p. 13).

Iskandar Sultān ibn 'Umar Shaykh went down in history as mainly a patron of culture and the arts (Soucek, 1998). When Iskandar Sultān was the alderman in Shiraz, the poems of the renowned poems *Gul u Nawrūz* [Gul and Nawruz] by Luṭfī and *Makhzan al-asrār* [Treasure Trove of Secrets] by Ḥaydar Khwārazmī were written in Turkic at his suggestions. During the first half of the fifteenth century, many poets, calligraphers, and artists lived and worked in Shiraz. Strong cultural contacts were established between the large cultural centre of the Timurids, Herat and Shiraz, Tabriz (Tittley, 1983, pp. 47, 53, 61, 68, 72, 74, 80; Pfeiffer, 2014).

The relations between the Timurid environment at the end of the fifteenth century with the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty as far as cultural ties, and in particularly literary ties, are concerned, were demonstrated in the recently published book on the relationship of Sultān Ya'qūb with the renowned classical author of Persian literature 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī (1414-1492) (Lingwood, 2014). Jāmī had dedicated his poem *Salāmān wa Absāl* [Salaman and Absal] to this Sultān Ya'qūb.

The work of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī was very popular amongst the Turkic peoples of the Orient and his proximity to the Timurid court played a big role in this. Attention to Amir Timur and imitating him is observed in countries of the Orient starting in the fifteenth century, while the influence of the Timurid era on the culture of the Orient is featured in various aspects in numerous academic works (Lockhart, 1938, p. 233; Michael, 1996; Szuppe, 1992; Kügelgen, 2006). Beginning at the end of the fifteenth century under the Ottoman court (1299-1922) and Safavids (1502-1736) rulers, the rule of Timurid Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506) began to be seen and assessed as a model for cultural imitation (Fleischer, 1986, pp. 273-292; Quinn, 1998; Quinn, 2000, pp. 89, 99-102, 127-128; Bernardini, 1992; Bernardini, [2002] 2003; Bernardini, 2003; Tucker, 2006b, pp. 10-13, 38, 68-75, 78; Tucker, 2006a; Dale, 2007). Imitating the relations between Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, as well as the traditions of court literary and cultural life, to a certain extent is observed in the eras of the Kokand (1710-1876) and the Khiva (1804-1910) khanate (Solihov, 1930; Erkinov, 2008b; Erkinov, 2009). The personality and legacy of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī played a big role in this process. Therefore, special attention is given to his work in research written in western languages (Kleinmichel, 1999; Kellner-Heinkele & Kleinmichel, 2003).

Unfortunately, on this backdrop the relationship between 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī and the Aq Qoyunlu environment has been studied relatively less. For example, we still do not have details about Nawā'ī's ties with the Aq Qoyunlu ruler of Khalīl (ruled only in 1478). When he was the alderman in Shiraz (1471-1478), "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" manuscript that we are examining was copied. If regarding the ties between Nawā'ī and the Aq Qoyunlu rulers, then he had amicable relations with Khalīl's successor, Sultān Ya'qūb (Nawā'ī, 1999, p. 18). In his anthology of poets, *Majālis al-nafā'is*, Nawā'ī provides details about and praises Sultān Ya'qūb,

and cites his poems in Persian (Nawā'ī, 1997, pp. 139-140). Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (1475-1536), a renowned historian from the Herat cultural environment during the Ḥusayn Bāyqarā era, mentions an instance in his *Ḥabīb al-siyar* [Friend of Biographies], finished in 1524, that has to do with Nawā'ī and Sulṭān Ya'qūb. Nawā'ī at one time decided to send Sulṭān Ya'qūb a complete collection of compositions by 'Abd al-Raḥman Jāmī. The librarian mistakenly gave the ambassador a different book with a binding similar to Jāmī's composition. The mistake was discovered only when the ambassador wanted to boast about his erudition, and when Sulṭān Ya'qūb asked him whether the trip was boring, he answered that he had a companion that excluded any possibility of boredom; he explained that Nawā'ī sent Jāmī's compositions as a present to Sulṭān Ya'qūb. As soon as he became bored, he would take the book and read, and his boredom would dissipate. The Sulṭān wished to take a look at the book, upon which it was discovered that the ambassador did not have Jāmī's compositions at all (Khwāndamīr, 1353/1974, pp. 350-351). These mutual relations, however, fall under the time after 1478 when Sulṭān Ya'qūb assumed the Aq Qoyunlu throne. I did not find details about their mutual relations at the beginning of the 1470s.

To be specific, we currently do not have any details about whether Nawā'ī knew about the existence of "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers"; however, there is some certain information. In the introduction to *Badā'i' al-bidāya* [Rare Beginning], the first *dīwān* that Nawā'ī himself compiled, he writes that collections including approximately 1,000 to 2,000 *bayt* of his poems were popular amongst the people, and he stresses that there were several such *dīwān* that readers themselves compiled: "...The poems of roughly 1,000 to 2,000 *baytes* that people collected themselves became extremely well known amongst the people" (Nawā'ī, 1987, p. 24). The compilation of yet another new Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān* five years after the compilation of the *Ilk dīwān* [Initial *dīwān*] proves the poet's words. The fact that volume of the newly discovered *dīwān* also matches up with what Nawā'ī indicated, namely the *dīwān* had more than 1,300 *bayt*, merits attention as well.

In his poem *Farhād wa Shīrīn*, however, Nawā'ī wrote that his poems were popular amongst the Turkic peoples not only in Khorasan, but also amongst the enthusiasts of the poetry of Shiraz and Tabriz (Nawā'ī, 1991, p. 475):

Without warriors nor battles I conquered  
every country,  
From China to Khorasan

آلیب مین تخت فرمانیم غه آسان  
چیریک چیکمای ختا دین تا خراسان

Sugar from the cane of my quill  
Was strewn not only on Khorasan, but also  
on Shiraz and Tabriz

خراسان دما کیم شیراز و تبریز  
که قیلیمش دور نی کلکیم شکرر

It was Shiraz and Tabriz that were the major cultural and political centres of the Aq Qoyunlu state.<sup>10</sup> The Aq Qoyunlu and Timurid states had amicable relations at this time (Melville, 2008; Lingwood, 2011). The most renowned representative of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, Uzūn Ḥasan, even exalted his clan to Amīr Tīmūr (Babinger, 1978, p. 190). Moreover, Nawā'ī stresses that his poems received recognition not only amongst the Turkic peoples, but also amongst the Oghuz Turks. This demonstrates that the emergence of the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān* is not a coincidence (Nawā'ī, 1991, p. 475):

The Turks devote their heart and soul  
to my words  
And not just the Turks, but also the  
Turkmen as well.

کونکل بیرمیش سوزوم که ترک جان هم  
نی یالغوز ترک بلکیم ترکمان هم

These words prove the *bayt* below of the poet Ni'matallah Kishwarī, who lived and worked in the Aq Qoyunlu state during the rule of Sulṭān Ya'qūb, and who was envious of the Timurid court (Nagieva, 1990, p. 60):

Kishwarī's poems are not inferior  
to Nawā'ī's.  
If only lucky fate would send him  
a protector such as Sulṭān Ḥusayn  
Bayqara.

کشوری شعری نوایی شعریدین اکسیک ایماس  
حسین بایقران سد لطا بختینا دوش سایدی بیر

This means that the Aq-Qoyunlu saw the environment of the Ḥusayn Bāyqarā court as a model environment. It is also worth noting here that in addition to the *dīwān* in question Anīsī is also given credit for copying Jāmī's poems (Kostigova, 1963, p. 11). This could show interest in the Aq Qoyunlu environment toward what they see as the modern Timurid environment.

<sup>10</sup> Shiraz was the centre of art and literatures. The Ottoman Turks had strong ties with this centre: Uluç, 2006a; Uluç, 2006b; Kartal, 2008.

## About the Manuscript Language

The texts of the Oghuz Turks that lived in the Aq Qoyunlu state were written in the ancient version of the local Turkic language, which is why Oghuz elements in the manuscript we discovered are found in Nawā'ī's Chaghatay Turkic poems. The following versions of words can be used as an example: *quyāsh-gunash*, *ber-ver*, *yighlar-aghlar*, *ermas-ermaz*, *sargharib-sararub*, *yoq-yokh*, etc.

To provide a complete idea of the particularities in adapting the language of Nawā'ī's poems included in the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān*, it is enough to look at part of the *ghazal* text that is renowned amongst Nawā'ī's Uzbek readers and that starts with the words 'Mehr köp körgüzdüm...' (42b):

مهر جوخ کورسندم اما مهربانی دا پمدم  
جان بسی قلدم فدا ارام جانی دا پمدم

غم بيله جانمه يتدم غمكساری کورمدم  
هجر ايله دلخسته اولدوم دلستانی دا پمدم

عشق ارا يوز مينك ملامت اوخينه اولدم نشان  
بیر کمان ابروده دوزلکدن نشانی دا پمدم

It is appropriate here to recall the particularities that existed in text copying: by modernising the language of an artifact with their 'corrections,' simplifying the syntax and phrases, and inserting explanatory *bayt* to the text, the scribes in no way thought that they were distorting the author's text. In fact, they believed that they were drawing the text closer to their contemporaries and making it easier for them to perceive this text (Smirnova, 1970, pp. 160-161). For example, the eleventh century poem *Kutadgu Bilig* [Blessed Knowledge] by Yusūf Khāṣṣ Ḥajib was copied in Herat in the fifteenth century. At the time, Turkic words were used to replace some words in the Turkic language of the eleventh century (Sugahara, 2011). It turns out that the partial adaptation of the text language from another region and era is a phenomenon that occurred in the Turkic linguistic culture.

Nawā'ī's *dīwān* were copied six times in Tabriz in the sixteenth century. His poem *Lisān al-ṭayr* [Language of the Birds] was copied in Shiraz in 907/1530-31. Just like "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers," they were copied in the Oghuz Turkic environment; however, as opposed to the *dīwān*



in question, their texts do not have an adaptation of the Chaghatay language to the Oghuz Turkic environment (Sulaymonov, Sulaymonova, 1982, illustrations pp. 123-133, 141-163, 182-189, 201-210, 231-237, 253-257). What lies ahead is to focus on the fact that although Nawā'ī's poems were copied as indicated, Persian was primarily the language of poetry in the Aq Qoyunlu court. The numerous examples from the Aq Qoyunlu environment demonstrate this fact (Nawā'ī, 1363/1984, pp. 286-312; Losensky, 1998; Lingwood, 2014, pp. 111-131).

Hence, not all of Nawā'ī's manuscripts, however, from the Oghuz Turk environment that were copied in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have adapted Chaghatay, such as "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" does. For example, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, manuscripts with Nawā'ī's poetry were copied in the Ottoman environment. As opposed to the *dīwān* that Anīsī copied, the Chaghatay in them is almost preserved as Nawā'ī's. They feature only several Oghuz Turk changes, while Arabic writing, used for texts in the Ottoman language, influences the text's spelling; for example, the indication of diacritic symbols in the text of Nawā'ī's poems.<sup>11</sup>

### Reforming the Successive Study of Nawā'ī's lyrical poetry

This manuscript is very significant in studying Nawā'ī's creative laboratory. *Badā'i' al-bidāya* [Rare Beginning] is the first *dīwān* that the poet himself compiled. *Ilk Dīwān*, which readers compiled and calligrapher Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī copied in 870/1465-1466, was the only one to come before it. Therefore, if *Ilk Dīwān* is poetry that Nawā'ī wrote before twenty-five years of age, then the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān* helps study the creative world of the thirty-year-old Nawā'ī. More than 15 per cent of the *ghazal* that are in the *Ilk Dīwān* are included in the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān*. Thus, a large number of the *ghazal* in the new *dīwān* could be written between 870/1465-1466 and 1471. This is yet to be determined.

When studying Nawā'ī's poetry, it is still common to study his lyrical art in four stages. Moreover, the following stages are highlighted based on the time the *dīwān* were compiled:

<sup>11</sup> Eleazar Birnbaum calls this phenomenon as osmanism (Birnbaum, 1976).

Stages	Nawā'ī's <i>dīwān</i>	Compilation date
I	<i>Ilk Dīwan</i>	1465-1466
II	<i>Bada'ī 'al-bidaya</i>	1470-1480*
III	<i>Nawadir al-nihaya</i>	1480-1490*
IV	<i>Khaza'in al-ma'am</i>	1492-1498

Given the discovery of “The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers,” there is the need to study Nawā'ī's lyrical poetry by highlighting the following five stages in it:

Stages	Nawā'ī's <i>dīwan</i>	Compilation date
I	<i>Ilk Dīwan</i>	1465-1466
II	The <i>Dīwan</i> of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers	1471
III	<i>Badayi' al-bidaya</i>	1470-1480*
IV	<i>Nawadir al-nihaya</i>	1480-1490*
V	<i>Khaza'in al-ma'am</i>	1492-1498

Note : The *dīwān* that have various compilation dates in science are denoted with an asterisk.

The study of Nawā'ī's creative laboratory commenced at a certain point and some work has been accomplished (Isoqov, 1965; Salohiy, 2004; Salohiy, 2005; Ramazonov, 2006; Salohiy, 2007; Ramazonov, 2007). Given the discovery of the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān*, continuing this work and studying the evolution of Nawā'ī's work is suggested in the new succession that we indicate in the table provided. Therefore, the Nawā'ī manuscript in question has great significance for studying the poetry and creative laboratory of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī. This article looks to familiarise readers with this collection. The next goal is to continue studying Nawā'ī's creative laboratory and to comparatively study “The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers” with other Nawā'ī *dīwān*.

This manuscript's meaning for the study of Nawā'ī's creative laboratory is not limited to what is laid out above. It is of interest in another aspect as well: it includes two *ghazal* that are not found in existing publications. One of them begins with the following *bayt* (61b):

جسمومه هجرینکدن غمی [...] مونجه کیم هر دم  
روزی اولمسون منکا سنسیر نشاط ایتمک دمی

It is worth finding out whether these *ghazals* exist in the manuscripts we are aware of in Nawā'ī *dīwān*.

### **The Manuscript Context: A Rivalry between the oriental/Mashhadī and occidental/Anīsī *Nasta'liq* School**

The compilation of Nawā'ī's *dīwān* in Shiraz raises the question of the reasons for why it occurred. Mashhadī and Anīsī are mentioned in a lot of research as masters of *nasta'liq* script (Bayānī, 1363/1985, p. 195), and this could be the basis for their rivalry. The rivalry between Mashhadī and Anīsī has been tracked in literature. As was indicated above, the Khwārazmī family developed its own *nasta'liq* style against him. This style is called Anīsī Style (*uslūb-i Anīsī*, *shīwa-yi Anīsī*) (Mustafa Âlī, 2011, p. 253; Mustaqīm-zāde, 1928, p. 673). This probably led to the rivalry between these two types of *nasta'liq*, namely between the two schools. As far as we know, Muṣṭafa 'Âlī (1541-1600) (Fleischer, 1986), a historian from the Ottoman court, is the first to mention this in his work *Manāqib-i hunarwarān* [Epic Deeds of Artists], finished in 1587 (Huart, 1972, pp. 6-7, 86-87, 235): "Although they were contemporaries of Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, they became his competitors when it came to capability and talent (Muṣṭafa 'Âlī, 1926, p. 27; 2011, p. 253)."<sup>12</sup> Based on sources available to us, however, we have to admit that these are the only details from that era. There is no information about the denoted rivalry in primary sources about calligraphers of this era, such as Sām Mīrzā Safawī's (1517-1567) *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* and Aḥmad Qūmī's (born in 1546) *Gulistān-i hunar*, finished in 1608 (Akimushkin, 1995; Akimushkin, 2004, pp. 190-205). Sāmī contends that the people considered him equal to Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī in *nasta'liq* script (Sām Mīrzā, 1384/2005, p. 28). The result is that Anīsī's skill is evaluated through Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī,<sup>13</sup> who was more famous than Anīsī.

Twentieth century scholars used their research to focus on the rivalry between the two schools through Mashhadī and Anīsī/the Khwārazmī family. Armenag bey Sakisian wrote that:

While Timurids were ruling in Eastern Iran, in the second half of the fifteenth century, Tabriz competed with Herat. Binā'ī, who was in competition against Nawā'ī, when he got out from Herat, went to the court of Sulṭān

<sup>12</sup> Dr.Esra Akin-Kivanc (USA) also presumed that there was such a rivalry (personal communication).

<sup>13</sup> Similar claim: Dost-Muḥammad, 2001, p. 10.

Ya'qūb. Three calligraphers, who introduced innovations in the letter *nasta'liq* lived at the court of the King.<sup>14</sup> The letter, changed by calligraphers, was based on traditional style, other contemporaries, from Khorasan, were competed with style of the famous Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī.

(Sakisian, 1929, pp. 34-35)

Of the modern-day scholars who worked on the history of calligraphy in Central Asia and Iran, Galina Kostygova (†1999) wrote that there is information that Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī had opponents of his style. They were 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khwārazmī and his sons (Kostygova, 1963, p. 11). A. Murdov claims that the Khwārazmī family destroyed the writing style that existed during that period. Since members of the Khwārazmī family were contemporaries of Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, the rivalry arose between them; however, the followers of Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī were victorious (Murodov, 1971, p. 104). In an article on calligraphy from *Encyclopædia Iranica* on the rivalry in question, the focus is put on the styles of the two schools and regions: "Two styles of writing *nasta'liq* came into use in Persia. One, called the style of Ja'far (Mīrzā Ja'far Tabrīzī Bāysonghorī, fifteenth century) or of Aẓhar earned much admiration and, after further refinement by Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, came into general use in Khorasan; for this reason it is known as *Khorasanī* or eastern *nasta'liq*. The other was the style of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khwārazmī and his sons 'Abd al-Raḥīm and 'Abd-al-Karīm, who were calligraphers at the court of the Sulṭān Ya'qūb Āq Qoyunlū in the late fifteenth century; it was used in the west and south of Persia and is known as western (*gharbī*) *nasta'liq*. In the western style, the letters and words have a sharp appearance. The elongations are level and unusually long, and the semicircles are also rather large; the letter and word dimensions are on the whole not well proportioned; and thus it does not have the consistency and grace of the eastern (*sharqī*) or Khorasani style. Because of these imperfections the western style was eventually discarded in Persia" (Yūsofī, 1990, p. 697).

Oleg Akimushkin (1929-2010), in addressing the styles of *nasta'liq* script, claims that two schools in it stand out by the end of the fifteenth century:

The Khorasan school. For example, such outstanding calligraphers as Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, Mīr 'Alī Ḥirawī, and 'Imad al-Ḥasanī are its representatives.

<sup>14</sup> Namely the father and his son, the Khwārazmī – A.E.

The western Iranian/Shiraz school. ‘Abd al-Rahman Khwārazmī and his sons are mainly the representatives of this school. “The names of the second school’s representatives (excluding its founders) are not found on the pages of tracts on the art of artistic writing. Apparently, this circumstance can be explained only in that their authors did not recognize the style of writing that this school had developed and did not consider it possible to include its representatives in the pantheon of exceptional calligraphers. The oriental style displaced the occidental style by the sixteenth century” (Bayānī, 1363/1985, pp. 384-386; Soudavar, 1992, p. 136). “In a continuation of the sixteenth century, this school operated out of Shiraz and gradually shriveled up by the beginning of the seventeenth century” (Akimushkin, 1987, pp. 351-352). Just like the above-mentioned researchers, the author of the book on calligraphers Mehdi Bayānī (1906-1968) shows the difference in handwriting style of the two *nasta‘liq* schools (Dabīrsiāqī, 1998). He claims that copying the manuscripts in the western Iranian *nasta‘liq* is partially still preserved in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India (Bayānī, 1363/1985, pp. 385-386). Despite this, it is worth taking into account that Anīsī’s style was called alternative relative to the style of Sulṭān ‘Alī Mashhadī (*Roxburgh*, 2001, pp. 236, 240). One of the Tabriz poets wrote the following poem about Anīsī’s skill in calligraphy (apparently exaggerating):

Yārān makunīd khushnawīsī	Friends, do not practice calligraphy
Ki-īn khatm shud ast bar Anīsī	For Anīsī has completed this art

(Bayānī, 1363/1985, pp. 384-385; Roxburgh, 2001, p. 101)

I find these ideas interesting, because the emergence of *nasta‘liq* schools/ styles most likely led to the second of them (western Iranian/Shiraz), of which Anīsī was a part, being not as popular as the oriental style. As a result, this leads to the conclusion that there must have been some sort of rivalry between the two schools. If being more specific, from 1465 to 1470 there possibly may have well been a rivalry between the representatives of these two styles: Sulṭān ‘Alī Mashhadī/Herat and Anīsī/Shiraz. It is worth keeping in mind the circumstance that they both were pupils of Azhar (Thackston, 2001, p. 36). This results in that the conflict arose between the two former pupils of one master teacher. This circumstance could serve as an additional argument in favour of this rivalry having existed.

My presumptions are that the body of “The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers” could serve as a way to show this rivalry. For example, of the 224 *ghazal* in it, 217 were included in the *Badā’i’ al-bidāya* [Rare Beginning], and only one in the *Nawādir al-nihāya* [Perpetual Rarities].

It can be concluded based on this that it is closer to *Badā'i' al-bidāya* as far as its content is concerned. As was already noted, we know that Anīsī and other people compiled the *dīwān*; however, we can presume that Anīsī was familiar with the *Ilk dīwān* and possibly included Nawā'ī's poems in it that were written after 870/1465-1466 in order to not repeat it and create a new collection that would be different from the *Ilk Dīwān*. It could have been that he was interested only in Nawā'ī's new poems written in recent years and he considered it important to familiarise the reader with these specimens of Nawā'ī's work, which demonstrate his ever-growing talent. What is interesting is that most *ghazal* included in the Aq Qoyunlu *dīwān* consist of five or seven *bayt*. *Ghazal* large in volume that are found in the *Ilk Dīwān* were included in the collection as abridged versions, namely they consist of five or seven *bayt*. Apparently, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī, who according to presumptions is the *dīwān*'s compiler, for unknown reasons preferred to include them in the collection as abridged versions. It is possible that this step was made for the sake of formally distancing himself from the *Ilk Dīwān*.

Moreover, several of Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī's mistakes in the *Ilk dīwān* could have served as the cause for the emergence of "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers,". Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1483-1530) claims, "Although there were many calligraphers in the Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā court, Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī was the head of them all in using *nasta'liq*. He wrote a lot for Mīrzā and 'Alī-Shīr bek, namely thirty poems each for Mīrzā and twenty poems each for 'Alī-Shīr bek" (Babur, 1996, p. 226; Babur, 1992, p. 145).

It is worth here recalling a fact related to Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī. At one point, at Timurid Ruler Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's command, a document was compiled for calligrapher Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī, in which the ruler blamed the scribe for its pitfalls in copying the manuscript and ordered to copy it without any errors (Semenov, 1946, pp. 163-165; Thackston, 2001, p. 351). It is not difficult for the reader with knowledge of the Turkic language to find the errors in the *Ilk Dīwān* text. They show that Sultān 'Alī did not have a good knowledge of the Turkic language. Apparently, when he was preparing the manuscript in 870/1465-1466, Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī still did not have much experience in copying text in the Turkic language. With time, he rectified these pitfalls. The number of manuscripts that Mashhadī copied exceeds fif-

ty (Kostygova, 1953). He copied several of Nawā'ī's works (Sulaymonov, Sulaymonova, 1982). Besides the *Ilk Dīwān*, for example, he copied the manuscripts of Nawā'ī's *dīwān Gharā'ib al-ṣighar* [Miracles of Childhood] and *Nawādir al-nihāya* [Perpetual Rarities] (Sulaymonov, Sulaymonova, 1982, illustrations 14-22; Lentz, Lowry, 1989, p. 259). It could be that Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī's errors in the *Ilk Dīwān* gave an impetus to Anīsī to create "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers". Simultaneously, it is worth taking into account that the compiler (possibly Anīsī), in starting with Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī's text and creating a manuscripts of his own version of Nawā'ī's *dīwān*, took a different path by adapting the Chaghatay text to the language of his own surroundings, namely Oghuzal-Turkic. This was not considered to be the compilers' mistake, but it was a demonstration of the traditions of that era: scribes deliberately and freely worked with the original text of other authors and changed it based on the values and needs of their era (Bertel's, 1962, p. 463; Bertel's, 1965, p. 452).

In my view, the political situation could have served as yet another reason and impetus for creating "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers". As is known, Prince Sulṭān Khalīl became the alderman of Shiraz in 1471. "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" admirers was copied this very same year. In 1469, Ḥusayn Bāyqarā captured Herat and became the Timurid ruler. Nawā'ī became a *muhrdār* [Keeper of the seals] in his court. As a poet, he was famous before this period as well; however, as being part of the inner circle in the Ḥusayn Bāyqarā court, Nawā'ī became even more famous in the 1470s. It could be that Sulṭān Khalīl could have, as a political move, ordered to have Nawā'ī's *dīwān* copied. Moreover, this could have served to get closer with the Timurids or to increase his authority in their eyes.

## Conclusion

"The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" is one of the first of Nawā'ī's manuscripts compiled while he was alive outside of the Timurid territory and within the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty. It is the second Nawā'ī collection put together by his adherents after the *Ilk Dīwān* (Initial *dīwān*). If the *Ilk dīwān* demonstrates Nawā'ī's poetry up until 1466, then "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers" admirers was copied in 1471 and is a depiction of Nawā'ī's creative stage from 1466 to 1471. Moreover, it is a depiction in

an even broader sense of a stage of up to thirty years that science does not have specific information about. What I presume to be the rivalry between *nasta'liq* styles (oriental/Mashhadī and occidental/Anīsī schools) could have served as grounds for this *dīwān* to emerge. What is the main thing for us is that Nawā'ī's poetry in his young years began to 'progress' towards one of the cultural centres of his era, onto the territory of the neighbouring Aq Qoyunlu dynasty with its centre in the cities of Tabriz and Shiraz. Under any context of copying "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers", choosing the young Nawā'ī's poetry to create the manuscript shows, just as he himself noted proudly, the recognition of his poetic talent.

Translated from Russian by Scott BEAN

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## Abstract

The manuscript *dīwān* of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (1441-1501), whom this article is about, was copied in 1471 in the Aq Qoyunlu state (1378-1501), and it is only now that researchers of Nawā'ī's work have become aware of it. The Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, in having ruled partially in modern-day Eastern Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Northern Iran and Iraq, supported close ties with the Timurids. Nawā'ī's adherents in the Aq Qoyunlu state compiled and copied the *dīwān*, and therefore it can conditionally be called "The *Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers". It was compiled and copied in 1471 and has great significance for studying Nawā'ī's work as the second *dīwān* after the *Ilk Dīwān* [Initial *Dīwān*], which was compiled by Nawā'ī's devotees in 1465-1466. It is presumed that he copied it in Shiraz, formerly one of the cultural centres of the Aq Qoyunlu state. The *dīwān* includes Nawā'ī's poems that were written up until 1471, namely until he turned thirty years of age. The poem language was partially adapted to the Oguz dialect of the Turkic language, which prevailed across the Aq Qoyunlu state. This *dīwān* is still the only collection that we know of that his adherents compiled in the Aq Qoyunlu state. The manuscript was copied by a famous calligrapher of the time who served in the court of the Aq Qoyunlu rulers, namely by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī, who wrote poems under the pseudonym Anīsī.

**Key words:** 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, Aq Qoyunlu, Timurids, "*Dīwān* of the Aq Qoyunlu admirers", Shiraz, Oguzal-Turkic language, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī – Anīsī, Herat.

## Résumé

De Hérat à Shiraz: le seul manuscrit de poésie de 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (876/1471) du royaume des Aq Qoyunlu

Le *dīwān* manuscrit de 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (1441-1501), qui est le sujet de cet article, fut copié en 1471 dans le royaume des Aq Qoyunlu (1378-1501), et c'est seulement aujourd'hui que les spécialistes de l'œuvre de Nawā'ī en ont pris connaissance. La dynastie des Aq Qoyunlu, qui a régné sur une partie de l'Est de l'actuelle Turquie, de l'Arménie, de l'Azerbaïdjan, et du Nord de l'Iran et l'Irak, a maintenu des liens étroits avec les Timourides. Les admirateurs de Nawā'ī qui vivaient à la cour des

Aq Qoyunlu ont compilé et copié ce *dīwān*, et ainsi on peut le nommer à titre provisoire *Le Dīwān des admirateurs aq qoyunlu*. Il a été compilé et copié en 1471, et revêt une grande importance pour l'étude de l'œuvre de Nawā'ī en tant que second *dīwān* après le *Ilk dīwān* [Le Premier *dīwān*], lequel a été compilé par de fervents amateurs de l'œuvre de Nawā'ī en 1465-1466. On suppose qu'il a été copié à Chiraz, ville qui était à l'époque l'un des centres culturels de la dynastie des Aq Qoyunlu. Le *dīwān* inclut des poèmes de Nawā'ī qui ont été écrits jusqu'en 1471, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au trentième anniversaire du poète. La langue des poèmes a été adaptée pour partie au dialecte turcique oghouz qui dominait dans le royaume des Aq Qoyunlu. Ce *dīwān* est encore la seule compilation dont nous savons qu'elle a été établie par les admirateurs du poète dans la dynastie des Aq Qoyunlu. Le manuscrit a été copié par le célèbre calligraphe de l'époque qui servait à la cour des dirigeants Aq Qoyunlu, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī, et qui écrivait des poèmes sous le nom de plume Anīsī.

**Mots clés** : 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, Aq Qoyunlu, Timurides, "*Dīwān des admirateurs aq qoyunlu*", Chiraz, dialecte turc oghouz, 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khwārazmī – Anīsī, Hérat.

### Аннотация

От Герата до Шираз: уникальная рукопись поэзии Алишера Наваи (876/1471) в государстве Ак-куюнлу

Рукописный диван Алишера Наваи (1441-1501), которому посвящена данная статья, был переписан в 1471 году в государстве Ак-куюнлу (1378-1501), и только теперь стал известен исследователям творчества Наваи. Династия Ак-куюнлу, правившая отчасти в современной Восточной Турции, Армении, Азербайджане, северном Иране и Ираке, поддерживала тесные отношения с Тимуридами. Диван составлен и переписан почитателями Наваи в государстве Ак-куюнлу и поэтому его условно можно назвать Диван Ак-куюнидских почитателей. Он составлен и переписан в 1471 году и имеет большое значение в изучении творчества Наваи, как второй диван после Раннего дивана (Илк диван), составленного поклонниками таланта Наваи в 1465-1466 году. Предполагается, что он переписан в городе Ширазе, бывшим одним из культурных центров государства Ак-куюнлу. В диван включены стихи Наваи, написанные до 1471 года, то есть до его тридцатилетнего возраста. Язык стихов частично адаптирован к огузскому наречию тюркского языка, распространенному на территории государства Ак-куюнлу. Этот диван пока является единственным известным нам сборником, составленным почитателями поэзии Наваи в государстве Ак-куюнлу. Рукопись переписана известным каллиграфом того времени, служившим при дворе Ак-куюнидских правителей, - 'Абд ал-Рахимом Хваразми, писавшим стихи под псевдонимом Аниси.

**Ключевые слова**: Алишер Наваи, Династия Ак-куюнлу, Тимуриды, Диван Ак-куюнидских почитателей, Шираз, огузско-тюркский язык, 'Абд ал-Рахим Хваразми – Аниси, Хират

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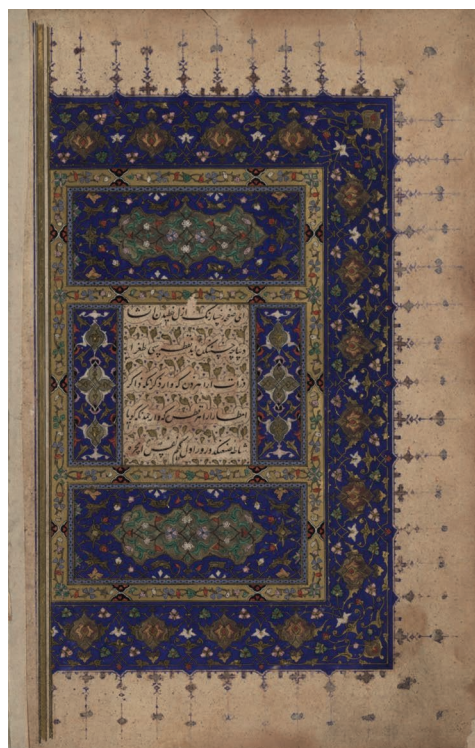
Annexe n° 1



Annexe n° 2



Annexe n° 3



Annexe n° 4